369 At night in Sart Tashkent, as in all other towns of Turkestan in-
625 habited by natives, all social intercourse is at a standstill. The secret
361 police which is also retained under Russian rule for the native towns, has hit upon the practical arrangement of regarding as an evildoer and taking into custody everyone, without regard to person, who is found on
[365] the street after dark. This measure has in addition the important advantage of making any outlay of money for street lighting superfluous. Nocturnal peace is, however, in no way essentially furthered by this. For the numerous nightwatchmen produce such a terrible racket and uproar with their drumming and clappers, which they are officially required to use constantly as a proof of conscientious execution of duty, in combination with the uninterrupted yelping of countless stray dogs, which alone populate the streets at night waging pitched battles with each other, that a newcomer is unable for nights on end to get a wink of sleep, especially during warm weather when one is forced by the great heat to sleep outdoors or at least by an open window.

4. The Population of Sart Tashkent.

161 In spite of the considerable expanse of the town, which, including the gardens, has as great an area as Paris, the population figure for Sart Tashkent is only about 125,000. It is impossible to give a more accurate figure, for to penetrate into the families for the purpose of a regular census is rendered impossible by the Mohammedan prejudices of the inhabitants. The Russian administration has had to limit itself to establishing the number of courts which are permanently occupied by a family, and which are taken as the basic unit in the allotment of taxes. For each family, one usually reckons five individuals, which should be fairly close to the truth. /173/ /Figure 62, p. 20a. Caption: A view of Kuldja (from a photography by G. Merzbacher)./

162 /174/ Tashkent has the most mixed population of all the towns in Turkestan, which is only to be expected, considering the position of the town and its history, for all the Mongol tribal groups pouring out of Dzungaria into Turkestan had to go through the region of Tashkent in the course of time, and could press forward only by conquering this powerful town. As a result, Tashkent's original Indo-European inhabitants have been perpetually mixed with the people deposited by all the later migrations, and consequently one encounters all possible types among the people of Tashkent.

Most of the people of Tashkent are Turkic-speaking Sarts, in general exhibiting all the physical and moral traits and characteristics of the Sarts mentioned above, since Tashkent is the actual center of their area of distribution. There are only a few Tadjiks; these have mostly wandered in from Khodzhent/Leninabad and Fergana, and usually stay in Tashkent only temporarily as merchants or workers. Outside of the Sarts and Tajiks, there are in Tashkent only about a hundred Tatars, Kirgiz, and Bukharan Jews, as well as isolated Hindus, Afghans, Persians, Chinese, etc. 162

The male sex visibly predominates over the female, obviously a consequence of polygamy.

5. Political and Social Conditions, past and present.

As has already been mentioned above, at the time Tashkent was taken by the Russians it belonged to the Khanate of Kokand. Of the various Uzbek khanates arising since the beginning of the sixteenth century, only three survived until modern times: the khanates of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand. Of these only the first two have today retained a nominal independence, while the third since 1876 has been incorporated into Russia. 642

The political and social arrangements were the same in all the Uzbek khanates. (1) The ruling classes were formed by the Uzbeks, 565 554

1. The short-lived state set up by the Sart Yakub Beg in the Tarym basin was also organized in quite the same way as the Uzbek states of Bukhara, Kokand, Khiva, Kunduz, etc.

from whom the rulers came. But there was and is no real aristocracy. Only the brothers and sons of the actual khan enjoy a privileged position and bear the title 'tyura' or "Sir", a title which is also conferred upon the Russian officials and officers by the natives. This title, like the Kazakh 'sultan', is placed after the personal name. Otherwise only the /175/ mullahs or scholars are held in esteem; but these owe their prominent place solely to their erudition and not at all to their birth, for admission to the schools is open to all, regardless of origin. All other subjects alike, be they Uzbeks, Sarts or Tadjiks, are slaves of their khan, without rights, and he usually treats them all in the most arbitrary manner. Today he can raise a beggar and even a former slave to the highest post of honor, and tomorrow he may make him a beggar [641] 643 554

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia[RL]



and American representatives in the capital, Urumchi. In the sands of Khotan in the Tarim basin the great archaeologist, Aurel Stein, discovered the lost cities that made his name. Since his time a succession of travellers have made it their business to describe what they were able to learn of the tangled politics of the Tarim and Jungarian oases from the time of the fall of the Manchus up to the rise to power of Communism in China. Only then, some three years back, did Sinkiang become inaccessible to the West. Before then it shared with the more remote parts of the Himalayas the distinction of being the favourite goal of the more enterprising travellers in Asiatic lands. Some may think that for that reason it has attained a quite spurious importance.

With Russian Turkistan — now become the five Socialist Soviet Republics of Central Asia — the case is otherwise. The Eastern Turks of the Oxus region have always dwelt in a strange isolation, and the Russians have only drawn closer the veils which for centuries shrouded a forbidden land. Relatively to the size of the country and the antiquity of its history, it is true to say that the West knows less of Soviet Central Asia than of any part of the civilized world. In extent alone it is impressive. Including the steppe up to the northern limits of modern Kazakistan, the aggregate territory is larger in area than India before partition[1] and more than half the size of the United States; and, although in a land of which much is desert the population in 1939 was under seventeen million,[1]

[1]

| | Area | Population (last census) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | 'Native' |
| | (sq. miles) | | |
| Kazakistan | 1,073,000 | 6,146,000 | 3,090,000 |
| Uzbekistan | 158,000 | 6,282,000 | 4,980,000 |
| Tajikistan | 56,000 | 1,485,000 | 1,220,000 |
| Kirghizia | 77,000 | 1,459,000 | 880,000 |
| Turkmenia | 189,000 | 1,254,000 | 830,000 |
| Total | 1,553,000 | 16,626,000 | 11,000,000 |

Note that the 'Native' population figures given are the figures of Kazaks, Uzbeks etc., *for the whole USSR.* The 1939 census, unlike that for 1926, did not give figures by nationality separately for each republic. But, although there is some inter-

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that figure greatly outstrips such important countries as Canada or Australia. It is, moreover, an organized population in tightly packed groups, gathered either on patches of intensive cultivation to which water can be brought, or in urban centres where the new industry flourishes. Yet it is strange to compare the extent of modern Western knowledge of these peoples with that which has been gathered about Afghanistan or Persia, to both of which Turkistan is immediately adjacent. With Pakistan or India the comparison is more startling still.

The isolation of the great Turanian basin between the Caspian and the Tienshan becomes all the more remarkable when it is realized that these lands were once the springboard of the Turkish race, and were also the seat of a renowned Muslim civilization which in its time rivalled the civilizations of Baghdad, Damascus and Cordova. From the date of the Arab conquest late in the VIIth century Maveraunnahr, or Transoxiana, became a part of the Muslim East. Today it never figures in the many definitions of that region, but it is time to claim it as the marginal overlap, both geographical and cultural, between the continental system of Russia and a Turco-Iranian system of South-Western Asia, in which at one time it played an important part.

In regions of overlap there will be stresses; Poland, Alsace, the North-West Frontier come to mind. Those stresses will be greater if, as in this case, the peoples inhabiting the region of overlap are alien to the Power to which they are for the time being subject and akin to their neighbours on the other side. In this instance too the overlap is adjacent to a frontier south of which lie the vast populations of the Indian sub-continent and the resources of the Middle East. Remembering this, it is not difficult to understand how Russia has come to determine on a policy of steady assimilation. Under the Russians, more particularly when the Soviets succeeded to the Tsars, the people of Turkistan have for this reason

mingling of nationalities as between the five republics, the figures are near enough. The difference between the two sets of population figures is due mainly to Russian immigration, which in Kazakistan accounts for approximately half the total population.

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nationalities are already safely moored. So runs the argument,[1] still in 1953 unshaken by exposures such as the words written in 1920 to Stalin.

In spite of all that has happened in the colonial areas *within the USSR*, in spite of rebellions, suppressions, mass movement of populations, decimation of peoples, purges, the phrase 'freedom for colonial peoples' remains on Communist lips as the open sesame giving access to that new Soviet world where the lion and the lamb lie down together.

## COLONIZATION

How has this come about? The answer begins to appear when we turn to examine certain particulars distinguishing Soviet Central Asia entirely from other parts of the world which from time to time have been regarded as dependencies.

The first distinction is that the people of what may be called the metropolitan race in the USSR — the Great Russians — have an absolute majority over all other races in the Union, and constitute over 58 per cent of the total population.[2] The Great Russians and Ukrainians together make up exactly three-quarters of the total. There is thus a very large preponderance of Europeans over Asian races in the Union as a whole, while the two most important Asian races, the Uzbeks and Kazaks, together make up less than 5 per cent of the population. It follows that in areas suitable for European colonization there are no such problems as beset the Commonwealth in countries

[1] The following are typical passages. 'The Bolsheviks had one exceptionally effective reply — *i.e.* the Soviet decrees on the right to secede if the native peoples so desired.' Coates, *op. cit.* (1951). 'The kernel of the answer is contained in the Party's proclaimed policy . . . every national has the right to self-determination, including the right to secession . . .' *Soviet Studies* (Jan. 1952), M. Holdsworth. For the exposure see pp. 112-13 *supra*.

[2] 1939 census. After the Great Russians come Ukrainians, 16·5 per cent; White Russians, 3·1 per cent; Uzbeks, 2·8 per cent; Tatars (*i.e.* Volga and Idel-Ural Turks), 2·5 per cent; Kazaks, 1·8 per cent; Jews, 1·8 per cent; Azeris, 1·3 per cent. Georgians, 1·3 per cent; Armenians, 1·3 per cent. Since that census the addition to the Russian Empire after the war of the Baltic States, and large parts of Poland and Rumania, may have increased the non-Russian population of the USSR by some 20 million, reducing the percentage of Great Russians to about 50 per cent, or even less, of the total population. But even this does not substantially affect the argument.

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1



admission of the justice of Barthold's criticism of the annihilation of Khorezm. (Khorezm was really the settled area, while the Karakalpaks are in the main a steppe tribe, but the areas overlap.) And in 1929 there were adjustments between the Uzbek and the Tajik country, in particular the transfer of the lower part of the Farghana Valley — that part around Khojent (now Leninabad) inhabited mainly by Tajiks — from Uzbekistan to Tajikistan. The upper part of the valley, east of Andijan, is in Kirghizia, and a glance at the map[2] reveals a strange interlacing of the inter-republican boundaries in this part of Central Asia.

Let us pursue this geography a little further, for on these administrative divisions the Kremlin relied to a large extent in support of its claim to be a respecter of nations. The official thesis was that the boundaries were drawn in accord with national principle, but not in such a way as to clash with economic divisions. It was stated, for instance, that each irrigation system was included as a rule in one republic.[1] There is Stalin's own verdict as guide.

> I think the recent delimitation of national frontiers in Turkistan may be regarded as an excellent example of how the Soviets can be brought into closer touch with the masses. . . . In a pre-revolutionary era these countries were torn into fragments and were a convenient field for the exploitatory machinations of the powers that be. The time is now come when these scattered fragments can be reunited into independent states, so that the toiling masses can be welded with the organs of government.[2]

The map itself belies him, for the boundaries are confused and the territories twirled and twisted round each other like the spokes of a catherine wheel. It is not even true that the boundaries divide the language-stocks, the 1926 census showing considerable minorities of Uzbeks in Tajikistan and Kirghizia, of Kirghiz in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, and of Tajiks in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. Indeed, as history shows, Uzbeks and Tajiks in particular are inextricably mingled in all these parts of Turkistan. Turning to irrigation, we note that the

[1] Mikhailov, Bib. I, 72. [2] Bib. I, 90, p. 209.

[2] See cat. 116, map facing p. 272 -- Analyst

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## REFERENCE

Kazak
Kirghiz
Turkmen
Uzbek
Taranchi, Turki
Karakalpak
Tajik

*Broken lines:- Scattered and scarce population*

*No marks within U.S.S.R.:- Practically uninhabited, (deserts, high mountains, etc.)*

*To avoid complexity, areas of Russian and Ukrainian settlement in the south have not all been marked*

*International frontier*

*Boundaries of Republics*

## PRINCIPAL SOURCES

1. Völker- und Sprachenkarte des vorderen Orients, Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme, 1943.
2. Dominant Linguistic Groups along the Southern USSR Boundary, CIA, 11830.
3. Географический Атлас СССР, для средней школы, Москва 1950.
4. Maps and descriptions of the distribution of languages in Western and Soviet publications on the languages involved: e.g. A. von Gabain, K. Menges, J. Benzing, G. Jarring, E. D. Polivanov, and many others.
5. Results of systematic questioning of former inhabitants of the various republics, and particularly of linguistically overlapping areas.

OLAF CAROE: SOVIET EMPIRE (MACMILL

[facing page 272 - A]

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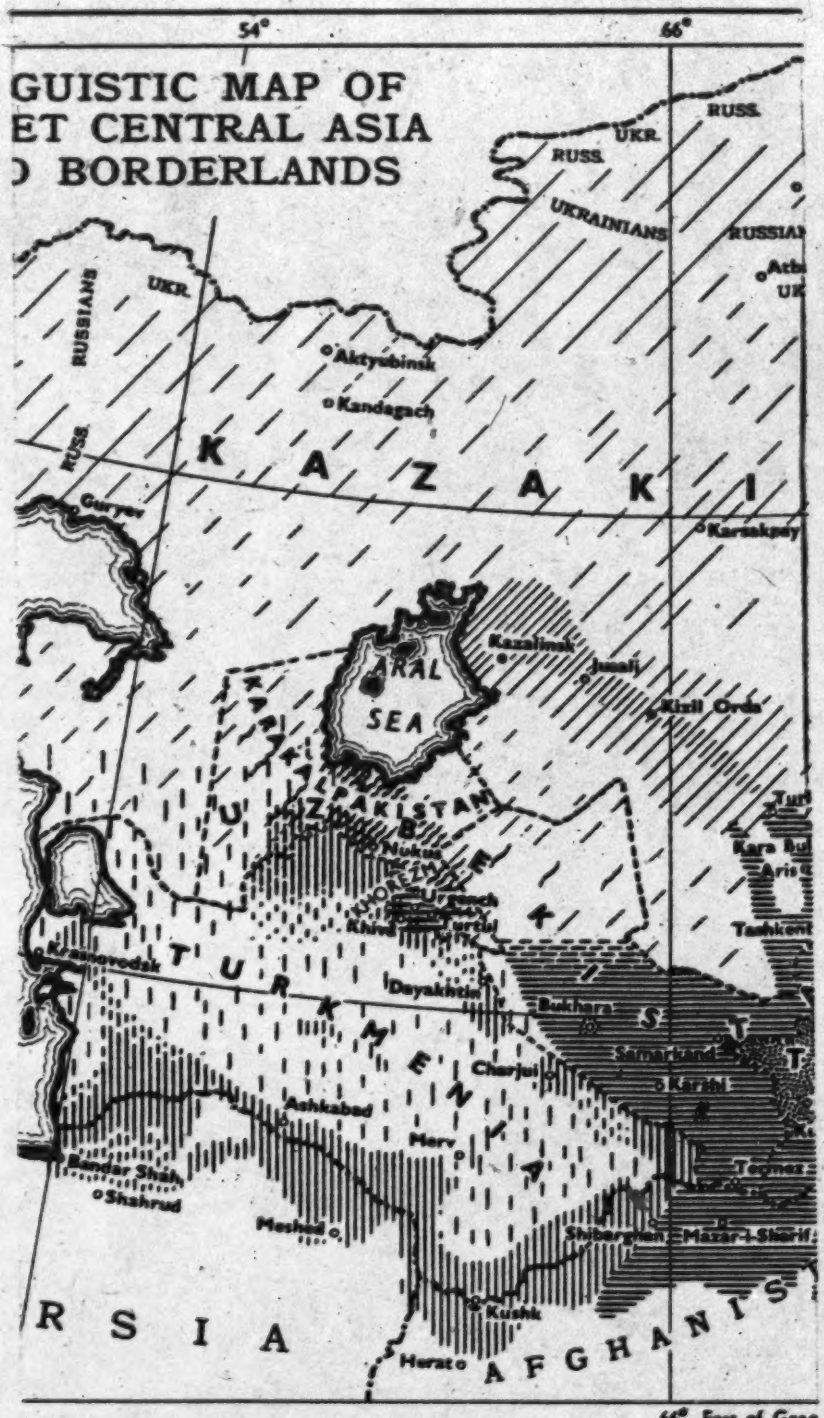


RE (MACMILLAN & CO. LTD.)

[facing page 272. - B]

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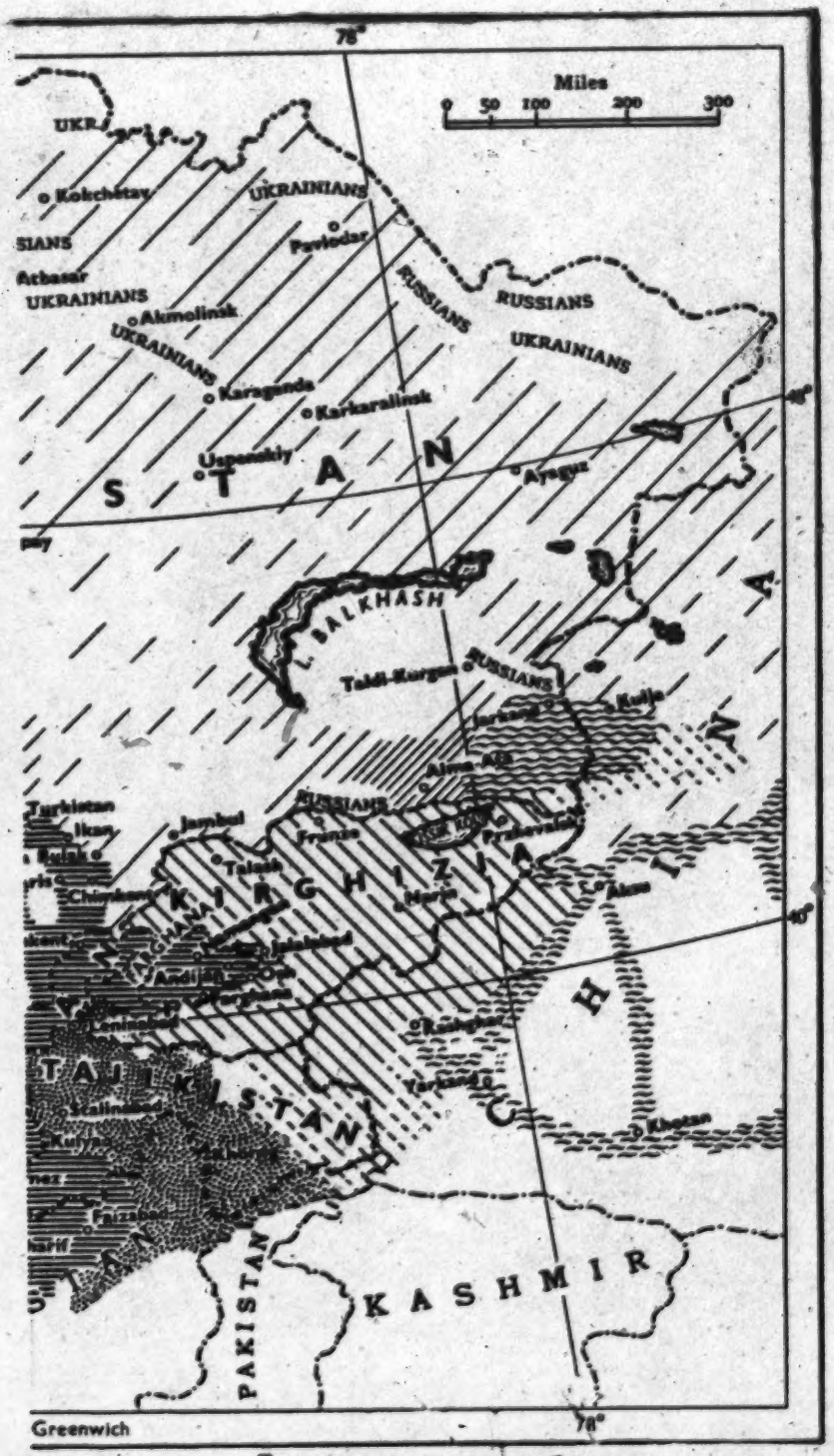


[facing page 272: C]

175 and for a time took up residence at Samarkand. At a later period it became the subject of conflict between Persia and the Chinese. The ethnological fate of Turkestan was, however, finally decided by the Turks. It formed the Western part of the Great Empire which the Turks founded in the centre of Asia in the sixth century, and in the following period other Turkish tribes pressed after those who had preceded them. To this day they form [162] the major portion of the population of Eastern and Western Turkestan beside which the other components are comparatively insignificant. Even the conquest of the country by Islam, so decisive an event in the history of the peoples of other countries, such as North Africa, Sicily, and Spain, was in Turkestan of almost exclusively religious significance. Turkish predominance in Central Asia was in no way shaken by this new movement, the originators and pioneers of which were Arabs. On the contrary it was the Turks who after their conversion assumed the leadership in the Islamic world of Asia. They founded powerful dynasties in Afghanistan, India, and even in Egypt; Turkestan itself, geographically the extreme outpost of the Mohammedan world, was in political respects very often its centre. That was particularly the case under Timur (Tamerlane) (see ill. page 143) who brought artists and craftsmen from all his conquering raids to Samarkand, which he made a city of marvels, far surpassing in its magnificence any other town within the world of Islam (see ill. on this page). Its superb buildings are entirely covered with coloured glaze that reflects the brilliant sun, producing an effect of beauty which would almost seem beyond anything in the nature of mere brick and stone. The tradition of this art outlived Timur's feeble successors; later Turkestan rulers like the Emirs of Bokhara continued to support the arts, though their standard had by then perceptibly declined. In ethnographic respects too, the inhabitants have changed but little, and the country has remained the centre of the Turkish world in Inner Asia.

361 175

[See p 12--Analyst]

[See cat 116, p 20--Analyst]

4:Leix U-5 (no date)1941 RL1 Turkestan RL1
Customs of the Settled Population of Turkestan

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The wealthier portion of the population of Turkestan, the merchants, tradesmen, artisans, and peasants, live in the towns and the villages of the fertile areas. They differ considerably in culture, dress, and customs from the nomads who range the deserts. It is usual to distinguish between three different domiciled groups, the Tajiks, Uzbegs, and the Sarts.

Of these three groups the Tajiks are the most interesting. They number about 1,200,000, and live in the southern part of the former emirate of Bokhara, which now forms an autonomous republic within the Soviet Union under the name of Tajikistan. They are above all a mountain people, and are at the same time skilled agriculturists. As their language has preserved Iranian elements, it may be assumed that they are a remnant of the original population of the country, which retreated before the invasion of the Turks.

The Uzbegs, about two million souls, form the majority of the agricultural population. They live in the heart of the fertile areas round about Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khiva. They appear to have originated in an army formed by Uzbeg Khan in the 14th century, which was made up of men who were willing to renounce the shamanistic customs which persisted and still persist throughout the country,

4:Leix U-5 (no date)1941 RL1 Turkestan RL1

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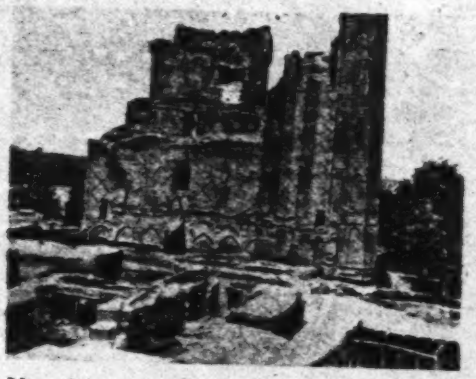

*View of the courtyards of Mohammedan houses in Samarkand. In the background the ruins of the great mosque built by Timur between 1398–1403.*

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and to profess a pure form of Islam. For that reason the Uzbegs contain all the elements of the Turkestan population, Arab, Turkish, and Tajik.

The two million Sarts who in the main make up the municipal population of Western Turkestan are even more of a racial mixture than the Uzbegs. That is not surprising considering the fact that the cities of Turkestan have always been great trading centres of international character. Nowadays, the differ-

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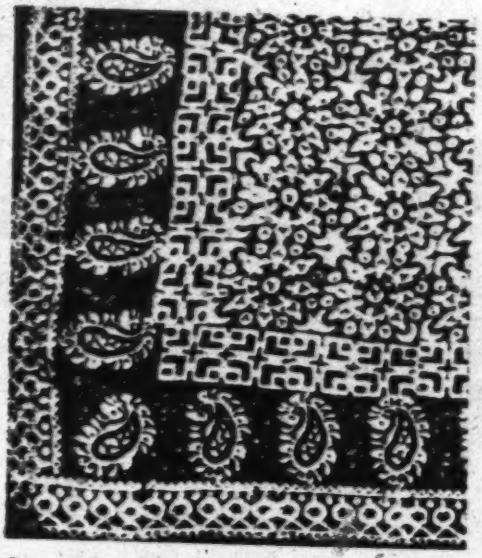

*Part of a waist-cloth of Bokhara. In addition to other motives the cashmere palmette is seen. Printed silk fabric.*

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ence between Sarts and Uzbegs may be regarded as obliterated. Fifteen years ago the name Sart was officially given up; since then the people who formerly bore that name have been known as Uzbegs, and the most important republic in Western Turkestan is called Uzbegistan.

In Eastern Turkestan these three peoples are represented by a few merchants only, parti-

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cularly in Kashgar, the first town on the other side of the border. The domiciled population there is made up of the so-called Turki people, more or less pure-blooded East Turks, who also profess the Mohammedan faith. As both Turkestans are provinces of countries of different race, the influence of ethnologically unrelated foreigners is strong: Russian influence in Western Turkestan and that of the Chinese in Eastern Turkestan. These foreigners hold the more important government positions, and also engage in commerce, particularly in the export trade.

342 The houses of the people of Turkestan show the same character everywhere. They are cubic structures, built of sun-dried brick round open courts, and shut off from the street (see ill. page 1441).[1]

291 The dress of the groups mentioned above is also essentially similar. In all Islamic countries dress is governed by the same law, so that the same elements and even the same fabrics are found again and again. Needless to say, the profession of the wearer and his financial status result in differences, particularly in the quality and embellishment of the material. The various districts also show certain peculiarities of dress which make it possible to determine the part of the country from which the wearer comes. In all these cases, however, the differences are no more than variations of the same elementary forms.

The leg-wear of the men consists of white

[1] [See cat. 116, p 24.--Analyst]
[2] [Tajiks, Uzbegs, Sarts--Analyst]

4:Leix U-5 (no date)1941 RL1 Turkestan RL1

## The Nomads of Turkestan and Their Dress

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The picture presented by Turkestan and its peoples is very varied indeed; deserts, fertile country, and towns are areas clearly distinct from each other, each of which imposes different modes of life on its inhabitants. Such distinctions are found all over the world; they may be observed in Egypt, Arabia, and elsewhere. In Turkestan, however, they are the more striking as the inhabitants of these zones not only represent different stages of cultural advancement, but separate peoples and tribes, which differ markedly from each other in appearance, customs, and dress. Even nomad tribes, whose mode of life is essentially similar, have distinctive characteristics which vary with the nature of the districts which they range.

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In Western Turkestan there are two principal nomad tribes, the Kirghiz and the Turkomans. The Kirghiz are made up of two main groups, the Kirghiz Kasaks and the Kara Kirghiz. The Kirghiz Kasaks are by far the more numerous of the two tribes; they number about 1,600,000 souls, and form four groups (orda, hord). They roam through the Kizil Kum Desert in Western Turkestan between Tashkent and Khiva; they are scattered over a wide area, and have even encroached on the lands of the Turkoman tribes. Isolated groups are found all over the country. The majority of the Kirghiz Kasaks wander through the so-called Kirghiz Steppes which extend north-

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ward from the border of Turkestan almost to the Volga. The Kara Kirghiz, who number about 540,000 in all, are native to Turkestan. Most of them live on the inclement slopes of the Tien Shan Mountains.

[588]

The differences in the character of these two Kirghiz tribes find expression in many details. The itinerant minstrels who wander from camp to camp of the Kara Kirghiz recite for the most part epic poems of heroic character, in which the glorious past and the great men of bygone days are praised. On the other hand the poetry of the Kirghiz Kasaks, who range the wide plains, consists mainly of romantic lays and love songs.

[144]

In spite of these differences both are hardy nomad peoples, insensible to heat and cold, hunger and thirst. They have retained the Turco-Mongol type comparatively purely, and are of sturdy build. Their obliquely set eyes, high cheek-bones, and sparse growth of beard proclaim them as genuine Mongols. The well-known Mongolian spot (a blue blotch on the skin of the lower part of the back) has been observed in their children up to the age of two years.

The Turkomans number about 700,000 in all, they roam the western part of the country between the Persian frontier and the Aral Sea. The finest types are found among the Tekke Turkomans, a group comprising

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619 about 3,000 tents, and having its centre in the oasis of Merv. To the South of them the Salors and Saryks extend their wanderings into Afghan territory, whilst the Yomuds, the northermost of the Turkoman tribes, who number about 4,800 tents, live in the vicinity of [181] Khiva. Anyone who has ever taken refuge in a Turkoman tent during the heat of the day knows how hospitable, frank, and trustworthy the people are. They are of a decidedly warlike character. Until after the middle of 567 the nineteenth century, when the Russians put 579 a stop to their activities, they were the most redoubtable caravan robbers in all Turkestan, and had, moreover, a pronounced bent towards kidnapping and the slave trade. They extended their raids far into Persia, seizing what prisoners they could. The wealthier of these were released after the extortion of as large a ransom as possible, the remainder being sold into slavery. The extent of this traffic may be gathered from the fact that when the Russians conquered Khiva in 1864 they freed 40,000 slaves who had been seized by the Turkomans and sold there.

144 The Turkomans are a tall, well-built, and vigorous race with an abundant growth of beard, large eyes, and brown, not yellow, skin. The women, too, are tall and slender; they are among the most beautiful in Asia. The tribe is much farther removed from the Mongol type than are the Kirghiz. The reason for this may be that the Turkomans live so close to the Iranian frontier, and that they have for centuries been in close contact with Iranian Tribes.

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5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1

# MUSLIMS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

*Richard Pipes*

## Part II

### *ETHNIC IDENTITY OF CENTRAL ASIAN MUSLIMS*

UNTIL THE BEGINNING of the 20th century, Central Asia preserved its ethnic homogeneity remarkably well. The tsarist government discouraged the migration of Slavs into the steppe region for fear of native rebellions, while Turkestan, which in the centuries prior to Russian conquest had been one of the world's most isolated areas, virtually closed to non-Muslims, absorbed only a small trickle of Russian officials and merchants. Khiva and Bukhara continued even after the establishment of the Russian protectorate to admit only a small number of Russians. At the turn of the century Muslims formed over 90 percent of the total population of all Central Asia; in Turkestan itself they accounted for 97 percent of all the inhabitants.[1] (See Table I.)

Perhaps the most significant single change which has occurred in Central Asia during the last half century has been the destruction of its ethnic homogeneity, brought about by Russian and Ukrainian immigration.

The first great migratory wave of Russians entered between 1906 and 1911, during the ministry of P. Stolypin, as a result of the deliberate effort of the tsarist regime to reduce the land hunger of the Russian villages by

[1] These statistics, and those which follow are based mainly on three sources: *Aziatskaia Rossiia*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1914); *Ts. St. Upr. SSSR. Narodnost' i rodnoi iazyk naseleniia SSSR* (Moscow, 1928); and *Strany mira* (Moscow, 1946).

*Table I:* RUSSIAN AND NATIVE POPULATION OF CENTRAL ASIA

(Including estimates for Khiva and Bukhara; in round figures)

| | *1897* | *1911* | *1926* | *1939* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muslims | 9,300,000 | 10,400,000 | 10,700,000 | c. 11,700,000 |
| Russians | 700,000 | 2,000,000 | 2,700,000 | c. 4,500,000 |
| Others | 300,000 | 600,000 | 300,000 | c. 400,000 |
| Total | 10,300,000 | 13,000,000 | 13,700,000 | 16,600,000 |

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5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1



167 settling some of their excess population in the sparsely inhabited steppe regions of Central Asia. This colonizing enterprise brought to Central Asia about 1 million peasants, most of whom made their home in the eastern parts of the steppe region and in the Semirechensk province of Turkestan. The newcomers were provided by the government with generous land allotments (transferred from the Crown, which claimed as its property all the nomadic grazing lands) and inventory, and settled in compact villages, apart from the Kazakh-Kirghiz natives, most of whom continued their traditional nomadic or seminomadic habits. The colonization program had only a limited success, for after the outbreak of World War I the large-scale Russian influx into the steppe regions ceased; the Russians living in the Kazakh Republic in 1939 still consisted in their majority of the original 161 Stolypin colonists or their direct descendants. The proportion of Russians in the total population of the steppe region would not have grown appreciably, therefore, were it not for the fact that the upheavals which had occurred in that area during World War I and the Russian Revolution (the 1916 Kazakh-Kirghiz revolt, and the famine of 1920–21) led to a considerable decrease in the native population. While the Kazakh-Kirghiz population remained virtually constant between 1911 and 1926, the local Russian population increased during the same period through natural growth by one-fourth. As a result of these demographic changes, Muslims constituted by 1926 only two-thirds of the population of the Kazakh Republic. (See Table II.)

167 Turkestan succeeded in maintaining its ethnic homogeneity somewhat
162 longer than the steppe region. The Russian influx into Turkestan prior to the Revolution was predominantly urban, consisting of officials, merchants, military personnel, and other groups connected with this area's administration and economic development. Thus, in 1926 the Russians still constituted merely 7.4 percent of the population of Turkestan.

The next important change in the demography of Central Asia occurred around 1930 as a consequence of Russian immigration and the further decrease of the native population. The Russians who migrated into Central Asia during this period were both victims of collectivization seeking to find refuge and to make a living on the Asiatic frontier, and settlers who followed in the wake of the newly constructed Turkestan-Siberian (Turksib) railroad. These migrants — whose number may be tentatively esti-

162 *Table II:* DISTRIBUTION OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION IN CENTRAL ASIA
(Including estimates for Khiva and Bukhara; in round figures)

| | *1897* | *1911* | *1926* | *1939* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Steppe | 500,000 | 1,600,000 | 2,100,000 | c. 2,600,000 |
| Turkestan | 200,000 | 400,000 | 600,000 | c. 1,900,000 |
| Percent of Russians in total population of Central Asia | 6.8 | 15.3 | 19.7 | c. 27.1 |

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1



mated between 1926 and 1939 at 1,300,000 — settled not in the steppe but in Turkestan. While the 1939 census did not provide ethnographic breakdowns for the individual republics (with one exception noted below [9]), it is possible, by comparing the growth of the population within the individual republics with the total growth of the major Central Asian ethnic groups (both reported by Soviet sources), to arrive at a reasonably close estimate of the distribution of the Russian newcomers:

| | |
|---|---|
| In the Uzbek Republic | 720,000 |
| In the Kirghiz Republic | 285,000 |
| In the Tajik Republic | 155,000 |
| In the Turkmen Republic | 135,000 |

More than one-half of the migrants, in other words, settled in the Uzbek Republic, where in all probability most of them moved into the towns (Tashkent especially) and the expanding industrial centers of the Ferghana valley. In the Tajik and Turkmen Republics most of the Russian newcomers probably also settled in the cities, while in Kirghizia, where there were numerous Russian agricultural settlements of pre-Revolutionary vintage, they moved into the countryside as well (the total urban population of the Kirghiz Republic grew, between 1926 and 1939, only by 150,000, whereas the total Russian population there increased in the same period by an estimated 285,000 immigrants).

Another factor which increased the ratio of Russians to Muslims in Central Asia was the decline in the Muslim population of the steppe due to the terrors of the period of collectivization. According to Soviet census statistics, the Kazakh population of the Soviet Union decreased between 1926 and 1939 from 3,960,000 to 3,099,000 — a decline of about a million and a half if one takes into consideration the normal rate of growth.

Thus, by 1939 the Muslims probably formed less than one-half of the inhabitants in the steppe region and about four-fifths of those in Turkestan. The ratio of Muslims to Russians in all of Central Asia dropped from 15 to 1 in 1897 to less than 4 to 1 in 1939. Obviously, such a rapid demographic change was bound to have profound effects on the ability of the natives to preserve their ethnic identity, the more so since the influx of Russians appears to have continued undiminished after 1939, becoming particularly rapid during the period of war-time evacuation (1942–44) and the new program of Russian and Ukrainian settlement in the Kazakh steppes since 1952.

On the face of it, Russian migration threatens the natives with eventual destruction. Central Asia appears to be faced with ethnic Russification,

[9] The Turkmen SSR is the exception. Official Soviet statistics for 1939, when the total population of this republic was 1,251,900, break down its ethnic structure as follows: Turkmen 59.2 percent; Russians 18.7 percent; Uzbeks 8.5 percent; Kazakhs 4.9 percent; other nationalities 8.7 percent. Z. G. Freikin, *Turkmenskaia SSR* (Moscow, 1954), p. 84.

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl



which may bring about the complete assimilation of the natives. However, in order to determine the effect of the Russian influx upon the natives it is necessary to go beyond mere statistics and to analyze the nature and scope of relations between these two groups. What matters is not so much how many Russians come to live in Central Asia, but whether, through intermarriage, social contact, cultural and other means, they actually exercise a denationalizing influence upon the Muslims. The answer to this question is not as discouraging for Muslim prospects as might appear from the mere survey of demographic statistics.

The Russians who migrate into Central Asia do not displace the natives, but settle side by side with them. The Russo-Ukrainian influx into Central Asia resembles not so much a demographic inundation, which gradually spreads over and submerges the whole native population, as a stream which penetrates the area following the path of least resistance and covers the regions which are least populated. It thus splits the population into two unequal parts, both of which retain their national character.

As has been pointed out above, the Russians inhabiting the steppe region in 1939 were largely the descendants of the pre-1914 colonists, living in the separate Russo-Ukrainian villages (now collectivized) or in the predominantly Russian-inhabited cities. When the Kazakhs were collectivized in the 1930's, and in many instances forcefully settled as well, they were formed into separate *kolkhozy* (collective farms), apart from the old and established Russo-Ukrainian villages. The establishment of ethnically mixed collectives was impractical, partly because the Russians were already settled in their own communities and partly because the basis of the native economy, sheep and livestock grazing, was different from that of the predominantly agricultural Russian villages.[10] The overwhelming majority of the Russian and Kazakh peasants in Kazakhstan, therefore, continues to live in separate settlements. Interviews with refugees from this region indicate that until the outbreak of World War II, at any rate, there were practically no ethnically mixed *kolkhozy*, although closely situated villages were frequently combined for administrative purposes into a single *sel'sovet* (village soviet), even when consisting of differing ethnic groups. Occasionally stray Russians may be found working on Kazakh collectives: doctors, nurses, bookkeepers, and so forth — as often as not persons who found it expedient for one reason or another to leave their native regions. Kazakh shepherds and laborers are also employed by some Russian collectives. But these are cases affecting individuals which do not change the general picture of ethnic separation in the rural areas.

[10] Attempts to mix collectives apparently had little success: "Instead of organizing the greatest possible mutual assistance of Russian and Kazakh collective farms," writes an official Kazakh Republic publication, "[the authorities] permitted instances of formation of international collective farms, ignoring the fact that the mass of the collective farmers was not as yet prepared for them." *10 let Kazakhstana — 1920–1930* (Alma-Ata, 1930), p. 216.

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1



The situation is somewhat different in the *sovkhozy* (state farms), which are operated like large enterprises with hired labor (there were 191 *sovkhozy* in the Kazakh Republic in 1938). The *sovkhozy* carry out diversified agricultural functions, and hire many Muslims to tend the sheep and livestock — a task they can carry out better than the Russians workers. They also employ some Muslim white-collar workers.

A similar picture of ethnic separation exists in Turkestan. In pre-Revolutionary times the Russians moving into the cities of Turkestan followed the custom of Europeans in other colonial areas of the world, and rather than make their home in the Oriental quarters, insanitary and overcrowded by Western standards, or build new cities from scratch, they constructed separate European sections adjoining the native towns. In this way, nearly all the cities in Turkestan were split into two halves: native, or Old, and European, or New. Significant exceptions to this rule were only Vernyi (Alma-Ata), whose geographic location did not permit the planning of a separate Russian sector, and Kokand, in the Ferghana valley, which the Russians left entirely to the natives, erecting the European town some 8 miles away, in Skobelev (Fergana). After the advent of the Communists this basic pattern remained, with one important change: leaving the Old and the New sections of the towns intact, the Soviet authorities constructed in most towns new quarters to house the officials, employees, and other privileged elements of Soviet society, who are predominantly, but not exclusively, European. Thus, most Central Asian towns today are divided into three parts: one predominantly native, another predominantly European, and a third one mixed, with Europeans dominant. The new quarters house alike native and Russian employees of the state; the natives living there, however, belong exclusively to the so-called "intelligentsia," which is Westernized and bilingual and constitutes a relatively small segment of the total native urban population. The majority of Russians and of natives continue, as before the Revolution, to live in their respective quarters, though the lines separating these quarters seem less sharp than they were before. A general mixing of the urban population has certainly not occurred.

As a result of this situation, the large influx of Russians into the cities does not have the effect of submerging the native population. Rather it leads to a great expansion of the European and Soviet sectors, a development which has no direct effect upon the native parts of the towns. The settlement of newcomers in the native quarters is quite unlikely, if only because of the overcrowding which prevails in almost all of them, as in most Oriental towns.

The next question which arises is whether, despite the residential separation, the Russians and Muslims actually assimilate through intermarriage and social contact. Here we must rely for answers entirely on interview material.

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1



563 186 177 Intermarriage is by far the most effective means of breaking down ethnic barriers. Prior to the Revolution, Russians and Muslims did not intermarry. If the interviews are correct, this continues to be the case today. A number of factors prevent intermarriage: the enormous cultural gap between Russians and Muslims, which ranges from such everyday matters as language, food, and type of residence to more subtle differences of national character and sexual customs; the considerable control which Muslim parents continue to exercise over their female children; and the great difficulty which a mixed family would have in finding a place in the Muslim or Russian community. The informants unanimously agreed that in Central Asia marriage between a Muslim girl and a Russian would be utterly unthinkable, since it would be prevented by the parents and the male relatives of the girl. Several of the refugee informants stated the opinion that a girl who would evade parental disapproval and marry a Russian would be assassinated by her male relatives; one recalled a specific instance of an Uzbek opera star who was killed by her brother for having married a Russian. Intermarriage is considered an insult to the family and to the nation. As one informant put it: "There are never enough girls for all the available Muslim suitors anyway; if a Muslim girl married a Russian that would mean that we weren't good enough for her." [11] None of the informants — who, it must be remembered, came from the ranks of the most Westernized Central Asian Muslims — knew personally any native girl who had married a Russian.

It appears much easier for a Muslim male to marry a Russian woman, and in some cases this happens because of the shortage of Muslim girls and the not inconsiderable number of Russian widows and prostitutes living in Central Asia. But such occurrences, too, seem rather rare. The informants who knew of such cases could recall only instances of Muslims living with Russian women without benefit of formal marriage; such Muslims are largely people whose homes have been broken up and who live with their wives or mistresses outside both Muslim and Russian communities.

The fact that the mere act of marrying an outsider leads to instant exclusion from the two dominant communities and forces the family to live in a social no-man's land is a strong deterrent to intermarriage. Consequently, the overwhelming majority of Russians and Muslims in Central Asia marry persons of their own ethnic group. Intermarriage appears very rare; insofar as it exists at all, it seems confined to the marginal groups of society, to persons who lack families and hence have little contact with their respective ethnic groups, or those who have left Central Asia and taken up residence in other parts of the Soviet Union.

● 162 [11] Indeed, the ratio of males to females in Central Asia was always high: in 1926 the proportion was 10 to 9 in favor of the males. Among the Russians, on the other hand, the ratio is reversed.

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl



701 177 563 their ethnic separateness. For many a Muslim, entry into military service represents the first contact with an alien nationality. The Muslim recruit is expected at once to understand Russian commands, even though he is often completely ignorant of Russian. This linguistic difficulty, coupled with the general ineptitude of most Central Asian Muslims for army life (due to the exemption granted them in tsarist days), makes military service for many a shocking and bewildering experience. Sooner or later, however, most Muslims, except the dullest or most recalcitrant, learn enough Russian to get along and communicate with their Russian superiors and comrades. Several of the refugees stated that they had first learned Russian in the army; for some others, the army was actually the first experience with life outside their own Muslim communities. On many recruits the effect of such an experience, though violent, is not long-lasting; having completed his military service, the recruit returns to his village and soon forgets most of what he has learned. For others, however, it constitutes a radical break which affects their entire life. The Red army represents the only Soviet institution — save for the forced labor camps — where Muslim and Russian societies are forcibly compressed together, and where the cultural and ethnic walls usually separating them are to some extent broken down.

697 563 Evidence obtained from refugees who had lived in Soviet concentration camps and Nazi prisoner-of-war camps indicates that in conditions of great distress the ethnic barriers break down most rapidly, for in neither was there much separation between Muslims and Russians.[12] After an initial period of very harsh treatment by the Germans as "Asiatics," the Central Asians were separated out by the Germans under the influence of Turkestani émigré organizations and were formed into numerous small military units, commanded by Germans; these units served as military police and anti-partisan units and in some cases as front-line combat units.

178 162 An important factor in the demography of Central Asia is the settlement of the nomadic and seminomadic populations of the steppe and desert regions. The abandonment of nomadic habits had begun long before the Revolution; one of the main themes in the entire history of the Turkic tribes since their appearance in Central Asia and the Middle East a thousand years ago is the gradual transition from pure nomadism to a settled existence. This process was in part caused by the encroachment of agricultural peoples of neighboring territories upon the extensive nomadic lands, with the resultant shrinkage of grazing areas, and in part by the economic advantages to be derived from a combination of cattle and sheep

697 563 [12] More recent evidence, however, indicates that this has not been the case in Soviet forced labor camps since World War II. Repatriated inmates of Vorkuta, one of the largest Soviet forced labor camps, indicate that national differences are very prominent in the camp, and the prisoners tend to group strictly along national or religious lines. See, for instance, J. Scholmer, *Vorkuta* (New York, 1955). It is not certain whether this contradiction is due to some unknown factors operating in post-World War II camps, or whether there is no clear-cut pattern permitting generalization on this subject.

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl



herding with agriculture. Both these factors caused a rapid decline in nomadism in Central Asia in the latter half of the 19th century, under Russian rule. In 1926 (i.e., on the eve of collectivization) in Kazakhstan — the main area of nomadism — 26 percent of all the Kazakh families were fully settled, 66 percent practiced nomadism in the summers (transhumance), and only the remaining 6 percent to 8 percent were nomadic the year around. Of the major group, i.e., those practicing summer nomadism, more than two-thirds moved within a 25-kilometer radius of their winter quarters.[13] Soviet collectivization thus completed a process of settlement that was already well on its way, and given another few decades might have been accomplished quite naturally. A by-product of settlement is the decline of the tribe as a unit of social organization, and with it the disappearance of the tribal divisions and feuds which in the past have constituted one of the most serious deterrents to the development of a national consciousness among the Central Asian natives. The natives of the steppe and desert chafe greatly under the severe limitations imposed upon their movement by the Soviet regime, and, given freedom, would probably like to return at least in part to some form of nomadism; nevertheless, the tribal structure is probably destroyed beyond repair. This fact greatly strengthens the development of modern nationalism.

Thus, despite the considerable Russian influx into Central Asia, the Muslims living there appear to maintain their ethnic distinctiveness. This is thanks both to the character of Russian settlement, which leads to the establishment of Russian centers *side by side* rather than *among* the natives, and to the wide cultural gap, which hinders intermarriage and more intimate social contact. Indeed, it may be said that Russian migration and Soviet policies have rather contributed to the development of national consciousness, first by exposing all natives to contact with representatives of an alien culture and thus forcing them to question their own status, and secondly by helping to destroy — through settlement — the tribal divisions which had always been a most formidable obstacle to native unity vis-à-vis the foreigner.

### *THE INTELLIGENTSIA*

An important factor in the transformation of an ethnic group into a full-fledged nation with a developed sense of national consciousness is an articulate class with sufficient education and experience to provide the population with intellectual leadership. In societies which have only recently begun to undergo such a transformation, this function is usually assumed by what the Russians call "intelligentsia" — a class composed of individuals of diverse social background whom a common middle or higher education, qualifying it for professional or white-collar work, turns into a new social estate.

[13] *Iz Istorii Kazakhstana*, pp. 82–83.

144 that the Sarts, Taranchi and Kurama belong among the Turko-Tatar peoples. As for the Dungans, it may be said that they form a link between the Turkic and Mongolian peoples. But although they are closer in type to the Turks, it is more accurate to place them among the Mongolian peoples.

162 The great majority of the population belongs to the Turko-Tatar branch. But even within this branch the Kazakhs have the numerical superiority, followed by the Sarts.

It has been impossible for us to determine with accuracy the statistics of the population according to peoples because of the variety of peoples and the complications of their origin. Therefore our data are only approximate. The Kazakhs and Sarts are the most numerous, then the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kurama, Kipchaks, Russians, Karakalpaks, Taranchi, Kalmuks, Mongol-Manchus, Tatars, Turkmen, Dungans, Persians, Indians, Jews and Gypsies.

The distribution of the population according to peoples is shown in the following table:

| Oblast's | Russians | Tatars | Sarts | Tadzhiks | Uzbeks | Karak-alpaks | Kip-chaks | Turk-men |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Semirechie | 44,585 | 2,978 | 3,365 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Syr-Darya | 8,477 | 4,321 | 210,774 | 57,841 | 25,771 | - | - | - |
| Fergana | 1,229 | - | 344,023 | 11,580 | 19,852 | 7,060 | 70,107 | - |
| Zeravshan okrug | 3,838 | - | 132,138 | 67,862 | 140,154 | - | - | - |
| Amu-Darya division | 1,184 | 10 | 5 | 110 | 16,195 | 51,710 | - | 5,860 |
| Total | 59,283 | 7,300 | 690,305 | 137,283 | 182,120 | 58,770 | 70,107 | 5,860 |

8;Kostenko —3-6-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RLI Turkestan RL1

| Oblast's | Dungans | Taran-chi | Kazakhs | Kurama | Kalmuks | Manchus | Pers-ians | Indians |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Semirechie | 19,657 | 36,265 | 595,237 | - | 24,787 | 21,932 | - | - |
| Syr-Darya | - | - | 709,370 | 77,301 | - | 3 | - | 135 |
| Fergana | 343 | - | 126,006 | - | - | 182 | - | 370 |
| Zeravshan okrug | - | - | 695 | - | - | - | 2,211 | 352 |
| Amu-Darya division | - | - | 31,385 | - | - | - | 715 | - |
| Total | 20,000 | 36,265 | 1,462,693 | 77,301 | 24,787 | 22,117 | 2,926 | 857 |

●162/327/1) The Russian population, not counting those in military service, constitutes about 1% of the entire population of the region. It is concentrated primarily in the Semirechie oblast' (44,089 persons, male and female), being mostly village people (Cossacks and peasants), with a small number of residents in the towns of the oblast'. Taken with the non-Russian population the Russian element constitutes over 7% here.

In the Syr-Darya oblast' the Russian population totals 8,447 persons (0.8% of the total population), and is concentrated primarily in the towns of Tashkent (up to 5,000 persons) and Kazalinsk (ca.1500), with a very limited number in other urban settlements of the oblast.

The Russian inhabitants in the towns of the Zeravshan okrug number about 4,000 (about 1% of the population of the okrug). In the Amu-Darya otdel the Russian element consists of 1,184 persons (1%) of whom the majority are Ural Cossack emigrants.

In the Fergana oblast' in 1876 there were 1,229 Russians.

101
162 2) The Tatars have migrated into this region at various time and have figured as traders, exploiting the nomads. Staying in the towns only temporarily, the Tatars have evaded the census, for which reason there must actually be more of them than is shown in the table.

3) The Sarts constitute about 22% of

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the total population of the region and up to 44% of all the sedentary natives. They spring from a mixture of various peoples and represent themselves as sedentary nomads, occupied in agriculture and trade. The Sarts constitute the nucleus of the native town and village population in the southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast and in all the Fergana oblast, and also in the Zeravshan okrug. In the Semirechie oblast there are no solid Sart settlements as yet. Here the Sarts live in small numbers, dispersed among the towns, are newcomers and are occupied in trade. The Sarts will be described in greater detail below.

4) The Kazakhs, and the Kirgiz, who are related to them, constitute numerically the predominant element in the population of the region, 48%. Nevertheless their distribution among the various oblast is by no means equal. /328/ Thus in the Semirechie oblast they are over 78% of the population, in the Syr-Darya oblast, 62%, in the Amu-Darya otdel they are only 29%, in the Fergana oblast not over 17%, and in the Zeravshan okrug barely o. 2%.

The primary occupation of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz is cattle raising. Yet a part of these people, these who are poor and do not own cattle, work of necessity in cotton cultivation, or in sowing millet and barley. These poor nomads are called 'iginchi', and they make up the sedentary element of the Kazakh population. In the Syr-Darya oblast, of 124, 325 tents over 50, 000 households belong to such Kazakhs, who are agriculturalists. The total number of iginchi in the okrug comes to about 300, 000 persons, male and female. (1)

1. The Cholo-Kazakhs are counted as

1[See category 116, pp 46-70 - Analyst]

162
101 Kazakhs. They originate from a mixture of Kazakhs and Tatars, and half of them lead a sedentary life while the other half are nomads.

5) The Kurama constitute neither a particular tribe nor a separate clan of Kazakhs. They are completely sedentary Kazakhs, settled in the Kurama uyezd of the Syr-Darya oblast', [312] along the Chirchik and Angren rivers. The abundance of water and the ease of irrigation were the original reasons for the development [181] of sedentary life here. Being attached to the land, these Kazakhs have mixed with the Sarts, lost all the tradition of their origin and have borrowed their culture from the Sarts. Nevertheless they have not lost the frankness and the sympathetic character of the Kazakhs. This is a very capable and industrious people in the Turkestan region.

6) The Kipchaks are related to the Kirgiz. They live exclusively in the north part of the Fergana oblast', primarily in the Andizhan uyezd, and make up about 10% of the total population of the former Kokand khanate. The Kipchaks, supported by the Kirgiz, nomadizing in the mountains embracing the Fergana valley, played a very important role in all the movements and disturbances which took place in the Kokand khanate before its annexation to Russia. Now this warlike tribe has turned to the peaceful occupations of trade and agriculture.

●162
563 7) The Uzbeks constitute 6% of the total population of the Turkestan region. Before the coming of the Russians the leading role in the political and social life belonged to this people. /329/ They constitute the

RL1

162 ruling people even today in the independent
563 khanates. The Khan of Khiva and the Emir of
[173] Bukhara are descendents of the Uzbek descent line of Myn. Nevertheless today they have lost both their political and their tribal
162 significance for the most part. A considerable
101 number of Uzbeks, mixing with Tadzhiks, Kazakhs and other peoples and becoming sedentary, have turned into a special family, so to speak, which is known in Central Asia by the name of the Sarts. The Uzbeks live in greatest density in the Zeravshan okrug where they make up over 40% of the total population. On the right bank of the Amu-Darya in the Amu-Darya otdel, the Uzbeks constitute about 3% of the population and in the Syr-Darya oblast' they are something over 2%.

618 The Uzbeks lead a nomadic form of life, and like the Kazakhs, are divided into clans, lineages and sub-lineages. The late /Ja. V./ Khanykov, on the basis of the book Nassiad-Namiati-Uabekkiia, counted 97 Uzbek tribes, a list of which was appended by him to his well known work Opisanie Bukharskago khanstva (A Description of the Bukharan Khanate). (1)

1. Cf. p. 58ff.

Burnes and Vambery counted 37 Uzbek tribes. Sobolev (2) suggests, quite correctly, that the classification of Uzbek clans can probably never be explained since the two essential sources for this can never be thoroughly reconciled.

2. Geograficheskie i statisticheskie svedeniia o Zeravshanskom okruge (Geographical and statistical information on the Zeravshan okrug) Zapiski imperial'nogo russkogo

618 geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdeleniiu statistiki ( Notes of the imperial Russian Geographical Society in the division of statistics) IV St. Petersburg. 1874, p. 138

For the Uzbeks are subdivided differently in actual life than they are according to the books which are almost never read by the population, [101] not even by the scholars. Many small tribes call themselves by the name of their location, and when they move they change their name. Some of the more powerful clans, such as the Mangit, Ming, Kipchaks, Naimans, Yuz, Keneges, and others, are spread over a considerable area and keep their names in a more stable fashion. But on the other hand their divisions and subdivisions often adopt special names and are raised to the rank of new clans.

●162 [101] 8) The Karakalpaks constitute 2% of the total population of the area. The majority of them live in the Amu-Darya otdel, where they number 51,710 /330/ constituting about half of the total population. In addition 7,060 Karakalpaks live in the Fergana oblast. Karakalpaks, mixed with Sarts and Kurama, also live in the Zeravshan okrug and in the Kurana uyezd of the Syr-Darya oblast. Until the middle of the last century the Karakalpaks lived along the lower Syr river, but when they were forced out by the Dzungarians they moved to their present locations. The ravages they suffered were so great that they were never able to recover until they came under the in- [181] fluence of the Russians. This people is outstanding for its industry and peaceful inclinations. It is occupied in agriculture and to some extent in livestock raising. On the Amu-

On the Amu-
162 Darya the Karakalpaks make up an extensive
[162] ommunity composed of twelve separate clans.
[333] They use the land jointly according to common right.

9) The Turkmen live exclusively in the Amu-
162 Darya otdel, where they constitute up to 5% of the
101 total population. They lead a semi-nomadic form of life using land which was irrigated earlier by the Karakalpaks for agricultural purposes. Under the rule of Khiva in place of obligations they bore the militia or 'nuker' service in time of war. Now they have been put on a level with the other groups of the sedentary population of Amu-Darya in regard to obligations, and must themselves maintain the irrigation required for their needs.

101 10) The Taranchi are Sarts who live in the permanent settlements in the Kuldja region. The name Taranchi was given them by the Chinese, meaning "worker." Their ancestors were settled in the Ili valley from eastern Turkestan by the Chinese government in the middle of the last century, just after the conquest of Dzungaria. This resettlement was undertaken as a form of punishment for these people for their participation in the revolt of 1756, and also as a colonization of the Ili valley, which was ruined and depopulated at that time.
[162] There are 51,891 Taranchi, male and female, in the Kuldja region, which is about 40% of the local population. Their form of life is the same as that of the Sarts in general. After the rout of the Chinese by the Dungans in 1865, the Taranchi gradually took the hegemony of the Ili valley into their hands. They routed the Dungans (under Bayandai) and formed an independent state under the rule of their Sultan Abil Oglia in 1867. The proud and /331/ arrogant tone adopted by Abil Oglia and his protection of robbers who found refuge in his lands, led the Russian government to dethrone

101 him in 1871 and annex his dominions to the Empire.

162 11) The Dungans. They are reckoned at about 20,000 persons in the okrug. In the Kuldja region before the last emigration of the Dungans from Kashgaria after its conquest by the Chinese, they totalled 4,030 persons. They lived then and live now in the towns of Suidun, /Sui-ting/ Chinchakhodzi /Ch'ing-shui-ho-tzu/ and Tardzhi /Hui-yuan?/. The Dungans who migrated settled in the Fergana and Semirechie oblast'v. The largest settlement of the Dungan emigrants is in the Tokmak uyezd, 7 versts north of Tokmak in the Karakunus valley, where about 4,000 of them now live. They came in 1878 and as a result of their industry have built up and established excellent farming land.

101 The origin of the Dungans is unclear. According to their own tradition their ancestors, who were moslems, conquered China by force of arms but gradually submitted to the conquered people, adopting their language, customs and costume. Although the Dungans also mixed considerably with the Chinese through intermarriage they still retained their tribal individualism and, most important, their religion. Their hatred for the Chinese is without limit.

141 The Dungans are of medium height and are notably corpulent. They have a high protuberant
142 forehead; their brows are thick and arched; the eyes are slightly raised in the corners; the cheekbones protrude very insignificantly; the face is oval; the mouth is of

141 medium size; the lips are thick, the teeth
142 medium; the chin is round, the ears are small and flattened; the hair is black and smooth; the beard is sparse and tough. The skin is smooth, the neck powerful and the extremities medium.

197 They[1] speak Chinese and wear Chinese
302 costume but nevertheless they shave their heads.
463 Their occupations are agriculture, gardening and various crafts. They make no celebration
844 when a child is born. The mother remains in
846 bed for fifteen days. The child receives its
553 name the day after it is born, in the presence of the mullah. The circumcision of boys is
852 performed on the eighth, ninth or tenth day.
583 A girl who is marrying receives a dowry. /332/
764 After death the body is wrapped in a white cloth
765 and buried directly in the ground. After the burial the mullahs and relatives gather for a
587 funeral feast. A widow may remarry after the
593 lapse of ninety days. In family life parental authority is very strong and the father is the
291 absolute head of the family. The women do not
181 cover their faces. These people are outstanding for their high morals, industry and hospitality.

101 12) The Kalmyks, and the Torgouts who
221 are related to them,[2] are nomads. The former nomadize in the Vernoye and Issyk-Kul uyezds of the Semirechie oblast, and the latter in the Kuldja region, around Kunges. Since 1878 the Torgouts have begun to migrate to Yulduz.

162 The 13) Sibo (18;318 persons), the
101 14) Solons ( 4,182 persons), and the 15) Kara-Kiti( 3,032 persons) belong to the Mongol (read Manchu-Tungusic, ed.) peoples. The majority of them (21,932 persons, male and female) live

[1] [The Dungans, see cat. 116, p. 11--Analyst]

162 101 in the Kuldja region and are the remnants of military settlers once settled on the Ili river by the Chinese government. RL 1

16) The Tadzhiks constitute about 4.5% of the total population of the area. They are Aryans and are related to the Persians. These are the aborigines of the country, some of whom were forced out by the invasions of the Turko-Mongol peoples into the mountainous places, difficult of access. There are therefore two subdivisions of Tadzhiks: those who live in the valleys, and those in the mountains. These people are very intelligent; although oppressed by the Uzbeks, they have nevertheless had a good influence on their oppressors, with whom they have been mixing up to the present time. Within the okrug the largest number of Tadzhiks are in the Khodzhent uyezd of the Syr-Darya oblast, where they constitute over 30% of the total population; then in the Zeravshan region they make up over 19% of the total, in the Kurama uyezd (in the mountains) they are 3% and in the Fergana oblast they are 1.6% of the total population. The mountain Tadzhiks in the Zeravshan okrug are called Galchas.

17) The Persians live in small numbers in the Zeravshan okrug and in the Amu-Darya otdel. They are former slaves who were freed when the Russians conquered this region. A large number of them were sent back to their [795] country at the expense of the state. Being of the Shi'ite religious sect the Persians are in /333/ sharp opposition to all the other Moslem people of Turkestan, who belong to the Sunnite sect.

18) The Hindus are scattered all over the

112 region in commercial industrial centers, where RL1
101 they are moneylenders. Their number is actually much higher than the official figure and they should be counted as at least 3,000 persons. Only Indian men live in Turkestan.

19) The Gypsies, called Liuli by the natives, live primarily in the Zeravshan okrug. Their number is no higher than 1,000 persons, male and female.

20) Jews also live primarily in the Zeravshan okrug where their number is as high as1,974 persons; their total in this area is up to 3,000 persons, male and female. Before the Russian occupation of the region they were terribly oppressed. As in Europe the Jews here are occupied in crafts and in trade.

21) The Arabs are descendants of the conquerors who entered Central Asia in the ninth century. They lead a semi-nomadic life in the environs of Samarkand and Katta-Kurgan. They number 2,000 to 3,000 persons.

112 The Division of the Population by Religious Faith

The religious faith with the largest number of adherents among the population of Turkestan is the Sunnite sect of the Moslems. There is only a small number of Persians who are Shiites. The Christians form the next largest group, followed by the pagans and finally by the Jews.

| | |
|---|---|
| Moslems | 2,900,000 |
| Orthodox Christian | 57,000 |
| Catholics | 2,000 |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Protestants | 1,000 |
| Pagans | 50,000 |
| Jews | 3,000 |

In relation to estates, of the 60,000 persons of Russian origin, not counting the military, the division is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Privileged estates | 2,600 |
| Merchants | 920 |
| /334/Propertied estate | 10,076 |
| Peasants | 10,708 |
| Cossacks, reserves and other lower ranks settled in the area | 25,694 |
| Russians of various estates, residing in the area temporarily and not counted in the local communities | 10,000 |

The native population of the area constitutes the local part of the total non-Russian estate in the realm.

The population of the Turkestan region is remarkable in that there are more males than females there. In this regard the Turkestan area is unlike the European countries where there is a general rule confirmed by statistics, that the number of females is larger than the number of males. This predominance of females in Europe is reported to be from two to three percent.

The numerical predominance of men over women in the Turkestan region is increased by the presence of a considerable number of military personnel. Yet aside from the army, among the native population there is a noticeable preponderance of males over females.

161 If the percent of natural increase in the Turkestan region is not high, we will see something quite different if we examine the population increase which results from other causes. The annexation of new lands and the colonization of the region both by the Russians and by natives coming in from neighboring territories, has increased the population figure for the area threefold.

The table on the following page shows the population change in the region for the eleven years from 1867 through 1877.

/336/ From this table it is found that:

1) In general, the density of the population of the region almost tripled.

162 2) The newly occupied territories not only increased the actual population of the region by almost 60%, but what is more essential, with their annexation to the area, the earlier proportion of sedentary to nomadic population was changed favorably and decisively. The nomads, who constituted between 1867 and 1869 around 70 to 80% of the total population of the region, by 1876 had already lost the numerical superiority to the sedentary population. In 1877 the sedentary group numbered over 200,000 more than the nomads, and represented up to 53% of the total population.

3) The sedentary population in the region increases much faster than the nomadic population.

## I I

## The significance of the local population in relation to the composition of the military district.

GH 702 The native population of the Turkestan area is excused from the obligation of military recruitment. It is difficult to say whether this gift

| Years | Population | | | of 1000 persons of the total population there are: | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sedentary | | Nomadic | Russians | non-Russians | |
| | Russian | Non-Russian | | | Sedentary | Nomadizing |
| 1867 | 24,689 | 146,650 | 887,975 | 23 | 138 | 839 |
| 1868 | 24,589 | 309,835 | 1,048,585 | 18 | 224 | 758 |
| 1869 | 31,956 | 482,630 | 1,014,975 | 21 | 316 | 663 |
| 1870 | 30,815 | 531,790 | 1,031,555 | 19 | 334 | 647 |
| 1871 | 37,743 | 623,290 | 1,087,880 | 21 | 356 | 623 |
| 1872 | 38,726 | 645,108 | 1,095,431 | 22 | 363 | 615 |
| 1873 | 40,334 | 769,208 | 1,171,041 | 20 | 388 | 592 |
| 1874 | 44,995 | 787,188 | 1,194,841 | 22 | 388 | 590 |
| 1875 | 51,414 | 907,262 | 1,276,730 | 23 | 406 | 571 |
| 1876 | 51,414 | 1,404,027 | 1,381,533 | 18 | 495 | 487 |
| 1877 | 59,273 | 1,561,262 | 1,417,584 | 19 | 514 | 467 |

8: Kostenko--18 G-4, 5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
RL1
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8:Kostenko -78-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RLl Turkestan

| | Territory in square miles | Population | | | Persons per square mile | Percent of sedentary population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | Sedentary | Nomadic | | |
| Southeast cultivated belt (Zeravshan okrug, Fergana and two southern uyezds of Syr-Darya oblast' | 3,292 (17%) | 1,588,945 (52%) | 1,379,690 (85%) | 209,255 (15%) | 483 | 87 |
| Northwest steppe belt (Semirechie, the five northern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast' and the Amu-Darya otdel | 16,149 (83%) | 1,449,175 (48%) | 240,120 (15%) | 1,209,055 (85%) | 90 | 17 |

162 The population distribution is shown in relation to place of residence in the following table:

| Names of Oblast' | Number of inhabitants | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | In towns | Outside of towns | |
| | | Sedentary | Nomadic |
| Semirechie (2).. | 37,822 | 89,239 | 631,189 |
| Syr-Darya..... | 146,272 | 326,660 | 621,625 |
| Fergana..... | 133,278 | 472,422 | 123,990 |
| Zeravshan okrug. | 55,051 | 293,362 | - |
| Amu-Darya otdel. | 959 | 65,470 | 40,780 |
| Total | 373,382 | 1,247,153 | 1,417,584 |

2. This includes the Kuldja district, in which 14,653 persons live in towns, 63,477 persons live sedentarily outside towns, and 61,550 are nomads.

/379/ The relation between the urban and rural population and the sedentary and nomadic population according to the individual oblast' is shown in the mean figures below:

| For every 1000 persons in the total population there are: | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In the Oblast' of | Urban Dwellers | Rural | |
| | | Sedentary | Nomadic |
| Semirechie..... | 50 | 118 | 832 |
| Syr-Darya..... | 134 | 229 | 567 |
| Fergana..... | 183 | 647 | 170 |
| Zeravshan okrug... | 158 | 842 | - |
| Amu-Darya otdel... | 9 | 611 | 380 |
| In entire region | 123 | 410 | 467 |

The populated places which can be considered towns because of their administrative and economic importance are shown in the following table, in which the number of inhabitants and the number of separate households are indicated:

| Names of urban settlements | Population of both sexes | Household |
|---|---|---|
| Semirechie oblast' | | |
| Vérnyi (Alma Ata) | 17,544 | 983 |
| Kapal (Kopal) | 2,309 | 344 |
| Sergiopol (Ayaguz) | 112 | 37 |
| Tokmak | 427 | 119 |
| Karakol | 2,777 | 257 |
| Total | 23,169 | 1,640 |

8:Kostenko -81-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan RL1

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| Names of urban settlements | Population of both sexes | Households |
|---|---|---|
| **Syr-Darya oblast'** | | |
| Tashkent | 81,900 | 15,000 |
| Kazalinsk | 2,010 | 448 |
| /380/ Perovsk (Kzyl-Orda) | 3,417 | 230 |
| Turkestan | 6,700 | 1,620 |
| Chimkent | 5,121 | 1,476 |
| Auliyè-Ata (Dzhambul) | 4,455 | 844 |
| Chinaz | 77 | 20 |
| Kuilyuk | 87 | 29 |
| Khodzhent (Leninabad) | 29,000 | 8,409 |
| Dzhizak | 8,701 | 1,765 |
| Ura-Tyube | 4,804 | 1,328 |
| Total | 146,272 | 31,169 |
| **Fergana oblast':** | | |
| Kokand | 34,805 | 7,804 |
| Namangan | 15,920 | 1,309 |
| Margelan | 26,195 | 5,260 |
| Andizhan | 42,879 | 10,602 |
| Chust | 3,326 | 725 |
| Osh | 3,307 | 1,049 |
| Vuadil | 1,461 | 328 |
| Kassan | 2,000 | 400 |
| Makhram | 385 | 77 |
| Isfara | 3,000 | 600 |
| Total | 133,278 | 28,154 |
| **Zeravshan okrug:** | | |
| Samarkand | 35,910 | 4,411 |
| Katty-Kurgan (Katta-Kurgan) | 7,029 | 1,435 |
| Peishambe | 4,600 | 1,143 |
| Pendzhakent (Pendzhikent) | 1,789 | 380 |
| Urgut | 5,543 | 948 |
| Total | 55,051 | 8,317 |

| Names of urban settlements | Population of both sexes | Households |
|---|---|---|
| **Amu-Darya otdel:** | | |
| Petro-Alexandrovsk (Turtkul) | 50 | 10 |
| Shurakhan | 196 | 40 |
| Chimbay | 713 | (1) 801 |
| Total | 959 | 851 |

1. In the number of households are included also empty courtyards and booths, which are occupied periodically at bazaar time. Chimbay is the trade center of its district.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Kuldja region:** | | |
| Kuldja | 10,953 | 2,906 |
| Suidun (Sui-ting) | 2,781 | 540 |
| Chin-Cha-Ho-Dzi (Ching-shui-ho-tzu) | 349 | 127 |
| Luutsugun | 570 | 200 |
| Total | 14,653 | 3,773 |
| Grand Total | 373,534 | 74,035 |

Of the 38 towns counted only Tashkent has a significant population, more than 80,000 persons. In the list of Russian cities, it is seventh in population, after Petersburg (Leningrad), Moscow, Warsaw, Odessa, Kishinev and Saratov.

Of the remaining towns in the Turkestan region:

5 towns have a population over 20,000
4 " " " " " 10,000
5 " " " " " 5,000

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | towns | have a | population | over | 3,000 |
| 2 | " | " | " | " | 2,000 |
| 5 | " | " | " | " | 1,000 |

/382/ The village population of the region has been published for the Semirechie and Syr-Darya oblast', the Zeravshan okrug and the Amu-Darya otdel. For the Fergana oblast' only general and approximate data have been gathered on the number and density of the villages. On the basis of this evidence the number of village settlements in the entire region is 3,171 with a population which is extremely varied, not only among the different oblast's, but also in the separate uyezds.

In the table below the data has been organized to show the number of urban and village populated places, the average density and relative crowdedness in the separate oblast's

| Oblast' | Settlements | | Populated Places | Number of Houses | | Number of populated places per square mile | Number of houses per village | Number of inhabitants per populated place |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban | Village | | In towns | outside towns | | | |
| Semirechie (1) | 9 | 85 | 94 | 5,513 | 19,221 | 0.01 | 226 | 1352 |
| Syr-Darya | 13 | 501 | 514 | 31,169 | 65,384 | 0.06 | 131 | 900 |
| Fergana | 10 | 1166 | 1176 | 28,154 | 94,485 | 0.88 | 81 | 626 |
| Zeravshan okrug | 5 | 1342 | 1347 | 8,317 | 61,362 | 2.84 | 46 | 259 |
| Amu-Darya otdel | 3 | 77 | 80 | 851 | 12,823 | 0.05 | 167 | 830 |
| Total | 40 | 3171 | 3211 | 74,035 | 253,275 | 0.17 | 80 | 946 |

1. The Kuldja region is included here, in which there are 24 populated places (4 urban and 20 village), with 3773 houses in the towns and 13,157 houses in the villages. There is an average of 2.4 populated places per square mile, an average of 658 houses per village and 3,005 residents per populated place.

8: Kostenko -84-G-4,5 (1868-80) 1880 RLI Turkestan RLI

361 are grouped in the districts in accordance with their occupations. Of course in each district one can also find other occupations (blacksmiths, bootmakers, etc.), but they are much less developed than the specific industry. The extent of the town is so great that many of its residents never learn to know all its winding streets, even though they live there a whole lifetime.

The figures for all the buildings in Asiatic Tashkent are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Houses occupied by the residents | 13,260 |
| Empty courts and separate courts for non-residents | 322 |
| Sheds (including 519 stalls) | 23 |
| [368] /410/ Medresses | 8 |
| Baths | 8 |
| Mosques | 255 |
| Flour mills | 116 |
| Crushing mills | 42 |

[366] Booths in the large bazaar:

| | |
|---|---|
| Occupied by traders | 2324 |
| Empty booths | 307 |
| Booths in the town streets | 594 |
| Empty booths in the town streets | 96 |

Booths occupied by Sarts in Russian Tashkent 69

361 The population of Asiatic Tashkent ac-
162 cording to the census of 1868 was:

8:Kostenko-122 G-4, 5 (1868-80) 1880 RL1 Turkestan
[Tashkent] RL1

| | | Families | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 361 | Sarts Residents of Tash. | 16,496 | 39,580 | 34,213 |
| 162 | non-residents | 22 | 987 | 68 |
| | Tatars Residents of Tash. | 170 | 320 | 253 |
| | non-residents | | 37 | |
| | Kazakhs Residents of Tash. | 24 | 54 | 56 |
| | non-residents | | 122 | 29 |
| | Persians Residents of Tash. | | 1 | |
| | non-residents | | | |
| | Afghans Residents of Tash. | 5 | 10 | 9 |
| | non-residents | | 6 | |
| | Russians Residents of Tash. | 5 | 14 | 6 |
| | non-residents | | 18 | |
| | Jews Residents of Tash. | 53 | 124 | 73 |
| | non-residents | | 11 | |
| | Hindus | | 93 | |
| | Chinese | | | 3 |
| | Totals | 16,775 | 41,377 | 34,715 |

Grand Total: 16,775 families,
i.e. 76,092 persons.

361 [312] Russian or European Tashkent is directly next to the Asiatic town, divided from it by a broad aryk (canal), the Bos-Su.

In spite of its brief existence, the town is developing very quickly.

[331] /411/ All the okrug administration as well as the oblast' administration for the Syr-Darya oblast are in Tashkent.

8:Kostenko 125-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RLl Turkestan
[Tashkent] RLl

361 In 1878 there were over 183 subscribers,
217 and 2780 volumes were in circulation, that is,
the average number would be between 15 and 16 volumes per reader.

361 The number of residents in Russian Tash-
162 kent was determined by a one day census in 1875. According to this census the total number of residents was 4,859 persons, not including the military personnel. One should note that this is a minimal figure for the Russian population in Tashkent.

The total number of Russians in Tashkent can be divided as follows:

By Religious Belief:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Orthodox Christian | 3,473 |
| | Moslem | 938 |
| | Jewish | 159 |
| /413/ | Catholic | 155 |
| | Lutheran | 115 |
| | Hindus | 4 |
| | Evangelical | 4 |
| | Armenian - Gregorian | 2 |
| | Reform | 1 |
| | Anglican | 1 |
| | Total | 4,859 |

Of this number:

| | |
|---|---|
| Males | 2,982 |
| Females | 1,877 |

According to occupation, the residents of Russian Tashkent can be divided as follows:

361
162

Clergy and Church workers 10
In military service 613 (1)

/416/ 1. Not counting the army and the officers But the army clerks and in general the army personnel living in separate quarters are included here.

In civil service 525 (2)

2. This figure does not include hired clerks.

Doctors 11
Obstetricians 2
Doctors' assistants
(Russian: fel'dsher) 9 (3)

3. This figure does not include those permanently assigned to hospitals, and resident there.

Traders 144 (4)

4. Mostly small traders, carrying on trade at the bazaars. Included in this figure are also proprietors of hotels and cafe restaurants, the keepers of public houses, wine cellars, and various stalls and stores.

Owners and Directors of factories 3
Shop clerks 118 (5)

5. Including the advanced clerks also, or the so-called 'doverennye' (in Russian - trusted assistants, agents)

[Tashkent]

361
162

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Proprietors in shops and stalls (sidel'tsev) | 30 | (6) |

6. Primarily in drinking establishments. This figure also includes women.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Office clerks | 3 | |
| Contractors | 4 | |
| Keepers of Exchanges (Russian: birzha) | 18 | (7) |

7. Of this number 6 are occupied only with transport.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Carters | 84 | (8) |

8. Mostly Tatars

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manufacturers of tobacco | 2 | |
| Skilled workers in leather | 2 | |
| Skilled workers in making brandy | 1 | |
| Brandy distillers | 2 | |
| Wine growers | 3 | |
| Photographers | 9 | (9) |

9. Counting the photographers' helpers: the retouchers, the pressers and also apprentices

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Type setters | 9 | |
| Printers | 3 | |
| Supervisors for printing | 1 | |
| /414/ Post Office staff | 4 | (10) |

10. This includes the station inspector and the overseer.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Postillions, drivers | 11 | (11) |

B.Kostenko 128-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RLI Turkestan
[Tashkent] RLI

361 162

11. Mostly Kazakhs from the Kurame uyezd.

| | |
|---|---|
| Messengers | 2 |
| Foremen | 2 |
| Drivers of arbas (two-wheeled wagons) | 14 (12) |

12. All Sarts.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mullahs | 1 (13) |

13. A mullah and an 'azanchi' (the man who calls from the minaret at prayer time) are at the mosque for the Moslem population of Russian Tashkent.

| | |
|---|---|
| Azanchi | 1 |
| Watchmen and Guards | 40 |
| Unskilled workmen | 241 (14) |

14. Most of these are Moslems: Sarts, Kazakhs and Tatars.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cigarette manufacturers | 2 |
| Florists | 1 |
| Confectioners | 2 |
| Sausage makers | 4 |
| Brewers | 2 |
| Hairdressers and barbers | 5 |
| Butlers | 6 |
| Markers at billiards | 3 |
| Economists | 5 |
| Apothecaries | 4 |
| Tutors | 4 |
| Teachers | 6 (15) |

15. Including governesses and female teachers.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 361 | Hired clerks | 31 |
| 162 | Soap boilers | 1 |
| | Engravers | 1 (16) |

16. This same man cuts the print.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bookbinders | 2 |
| Skilled match workers | 2 |
| Chimney sweeps | 1 |
| Furriers | 1 |
| Locksmiths | 3 |
| Coopers | 6 |
| Smiths | 30 |
| Carpenters | 26 |
| Cabinet makers | 50 |
| Hammerers | 3 |
| Planers | 1 |
| Water carrier | 1 |
| Harness makers | 3 |
| Stove makers | 8 |
| Tailors | 55 |
| Boot makers | 36 |
| /415/Makers of bast shoes | 1 |
| House painters | 11 |
| Plasterers | 2 |
| Turners | 1 |
| Parquet floor layers | 1 |
| Cartwrights | 3 |
| Coachmakers | 1 |
| Carriage spring makers | 1 |
| Gardeners | 15 (17) |

17. Including kitchen gardeners.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bread bakers and bakers | 37 |
| Embroiderers in gold | 3 |
| Clockmakers | 3 |
| Fishermen | 5 |
| Musicians | 11 (18) |

8:Kostenko 130-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
[Tashkent] RIL

361 18. All hired, and mostly Jews.

162

| | |
|---|---|
| Bread sellers | 6 |
| Keepers of the baths | 5 (19) |

19. Those who work at the baths are counted as attendants.

| | |
|---|---|
| Skilled weapon makers | 3 |
| Masons | 18 |
| Hatters | 2 |
| Upholsterers | 1 |
| Butchers | 3 |
| Skilled goldsmiths | 4 (20) |

20. Including their apprentices.

| | |
|---|---|
| Roofers | 1 |
| Sawyers | 3 |
| Translators | 5 |
| Glaziers | 1 |
| Brothel keepers | 18 (21) |

21. All Moslems. They include also women.

| | |
|---|---|
| Prostitutes | 66 (22) |

/417/ this and following footnotes
22. All Moslem women. Some of these are married, and live in the brothels together with their husbands, brothers, fathers, small children, etc.

| | |
|---|---|
| Attendants and Servants | 314 (23) |

23. Also including orderlies.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 361 | Coachmen | 32 |
| 162 | Cooks | 111 |
| | Chefs | 41 |
| | Grooms | 16 |
| | Nurses | 67 |
| | Wetnurses | 4 |
| | Chambermaids | 25 |
| | Seamstresses and milliners | 31 |
| | Laundresses | 61 |
| | Without known occupation | 1708 |
| | Total: | 4859 |

/416/ Of this number 532 women have known occupations.

/417/ According to age the population of the Russian part of Tashkent divides as follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 10 years old | 880 |
| From 10 to 15 | 230 |
| From 15 to 20 | 461 |
| From 20 to 30 | 1588 |
| From 30 to 40 | 1156 |
| From 40 to 50 | 396 |
| From 50 to 60 | 100 |
| From 60 to 70 | 24 |
| Over 70 years of age | 24 |

From the above table it can be seen that young people predominate in the population of Russian Tashkent, followed by those in the prime of their lives (from 20 to 40 years old), and after that children up to the age of 15.

361 In 1863 there were 4,322 men and 1,842
162 women, totalling 6,164. At that time there were 43 women for every 100 men.

Thus, although the population also doubled in the eight year period, the numerical proportion of men to women changed much less.(1)

1. According to the one day census, made on April 5, 1879 in Vernyy and the stations and suburbs belonging to it, the population of both sexes was 14,837, excluding the military, which numbered 3,586. Thus the total population of Vernyy, including the military, came to 18,423 persons of both sexes. The figure 14,837 is the sum of the following figures:

6,934, the population of both sexes in the new town.

2,230, in the Tatar suburb, in the pastures, in the Khokhlats suburb, in Great valley (Bol'shoi log), in Soroch'ye ostrova (Magpie island), in the prison, the hospital and the Kuznetsov brandy factory.

5,673, in the Great Almata station with the Little Almata settlement. In the first 3,505, in the second 1,868.

361 Concerning births and deaths in the town
163 of Vernyy, we have the following data, which
165 refer especially to the Russian population, which, as was said before, is considerably more numerous than the native.

| In 1871 in Vernyy: | Males | Females | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Births | 308 | 288 | 596 |
| Deaths | 263 | 220 | 483 |

[Vernyy]

Concerning religious belief, the distribution is as follows:

| | Males | Females | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roman Catholic | 136 | 1 | 137 |
| Protestant | 22 | 2 | 24 |
| Moslem | 550 | 152 | 702 |
| Buddhist | 136 | 67 | 203 |
| Jewish | 14 | - | 14 |
| Old Believers (raskol'niki) | 15 | 13 | 28 |

All the rest of the population is of the Eastern Orthodox faith.

The chief occupation of the inhabitants is agriculture. The types /425/ of grain grown here are spring and winter rye, wheat, oats, barley, millet and buckwheat. In addition potatoes are grown in considerable quantity.

| In 1871 there was: | chetverts sown | chetverts reaped |
|---|---|---|
| Rye spring | 249 | 2,922 |
| Rye winter | 498 | 1,754 |
| Spring wheat | 1,937 | 19,022 |
| Oats | 3,079 | 33,831 |
| Barley | 420 | 1,881 |
| Buckwheat | 23 | 191 |
| Potatoes | 223 | 1,239 |

The grain is used for domestic consumption and is not exported abroad. A part of it is disposed of to the Kazakhs, however, and a part goes to the distilleries and breweries.

The residents of Vernyy are very active in kitchen gardening. Among their products there is a special kind of sweet melon plant with seeds from Kuldja, which is particularly worthy of note.

[Kuldja] RL1

361 Among the Chinese of Kuldja there are
795 about eighty persons who are Christians and call themselves Catholics. They have a small church in the form of a chapel, located on the edge of the town. Inside the chapel is a litograph picture of the Mother of God, the Crucifixion, two copper candlesticks and a Latin bible.

In general the Kuldja "Catholics" are very insecure in the foundations of their faith. They wear crucifixes around their necks, and read prayers /434/ in Latin. When they appear before the authorities with a plea they set their crucifixes outside.

In the houses of the Kuldja Catholics one sees on the walls an image of the cross instead of icons. In addition, one may also see from time to time rosaries with a crucifix, or a palm on which a crucifix hangs.

[797] Christianity was brought to Kuldja by French missionaries, who came here from Peking.

361 Here are the statistical data for the number of houses and population in Kuldja. In 1872 there were in Kuldja:

[346]

| | |
|---|---|
| Eastern Orthodox Churches | 1 |
| Roman Catholic Churches | 1 |
| Chinese temples of idols | 2 |
| Mosques | 36 |
| Houses | 1,258 |
| Total number of buildings | 1,298 |

361 The population of Kuldja divides accord-
162 ing to peoples and estates in the following manner.

361 1) Russians

| | Males | Females | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| •162 Hereditary nobility | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| 365 Non-hereditary nobility | 12 | | 12 |
| Monastic clergy | 1 | | 1 |
| Lower middle class | 19 | 7 | 26 |
| Peasants | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| Military | 714 | | 714 |
| Cossacks | 257 | | 257 |

2) Natives

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Taranchi | 2,083 | 1,882 | 3,905 |
| Dungans | 202 | 206 | 406 |
| Chinese | 976 | 776 | 1,752 |
| Other nationalities (1) | 370 | 225 | 595 |
| Total | 4,649 | 3,044 | 7,693 |

1. Here belong Kalmycks, Torgouts, Manchus, Kazakhs, Afghans and Sarts, immigrants from Turkestan and Kashgar.

/435/ The division of the population of Kuldja according to religious belief is as follows:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eastern Orthodox | 1,013 | 14 | 1,027 |
| Catholics | 72 | 71 | 143 |
| Lutherans | 3 | - | 3 |
| Moslems | 2,655 | 2,253 | 4,908 |
| Pagans | 906 | 706 | 1,612 |
| | 4,649 | 3,044 | 7,693 |

361 The productivity of Kuldja is not great.
433 The recent troubles and unrest which have torn

8:Kostenko 166-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
[Samarkand] RL1

361 The basic population of Samarkand is
563 Tadzhik, a people of Iranian provenience, and after them come the Uzbeks. The Jews, whose houses here number up to 300, live in a special quarter, as they do in many other towns in Central Asia, and this quarter is distinguished for its extreme dirtiness. In addition one can meet Kipchaks, Arabs, Persians, Gypsies, Afghans and Hindus on the streets of Samarkand.

361 Samarkand carries on quite a large trade
438 in cotton, silk, wheat and rice, and also in knives, fruit, horses, sheep and donkeys. Wheat,
439 rice and silk go primarily to Bukhara; cotton travels through Tashkent to Russia. Excellent fruit is imported here from the Bukharan province of Shakhrisyabs, south of Samarkand, as well as pomegranates and pomegranate cork, used for dye. Wheat and silk textiles are also imported from there. /441/ Salt is imported from the Hissar province which is famous for its good quality.

361 The total number of houses in Samarkand is 4,411, of which 201 are Russian, and the rest are native houses.

[162] There are 30,530 native inhabitants of Samarkand, and 5,380 Europeans, making a total of 35,910 persons of both sexes.

361 The industry of Samarkand is shown in
438 the number of factories, machine and handi-
366 craft workshops, stalls and other industrial and commercial undertakings, which are in the native part of town.

361 other, which is the completely new Rustam beg
346 medresse, was built about 15 years ago. In its 49 separate apartments live 50 students, who are instructed by 4 teachers. There are two remaining medresses built of clay. In the Namazga medresse there are 12 apartments for 30 students which were built by the two begs Mohammed Rakhim Attalyk and Khudoyar Vallyami, and 18 other lodgings for 25 students, built by another beg. The mosque at this medresse was built by the first two begs out of firebrick. It has four teachers. At the fourth medresse, built by the Beg Said Gaza Hodja, there are 12 apartments for 15 students, who are instructed by 1 teacher.

361 There are 1,398 houses in Ura-Tyube and
162 the population is counted as 4,804 persons of both sexes. The predominating nationality is Tadzhik. After them come the Uzbeks with 900 persons. There are in addition 6 Jews and 12 Hindus in the town. Not having their own households they live permanently in caravanseries which belong to them.

There are no other native peoples in the town. The Kazakhs never settle there but travel only to the bazaar to sell wood, coal and cattle and to buy such necessary objects for themselves which they are unable to produce in their own domestic industry, and indeed their own produce does not satisfy almost all their needs.

361 /450/ Outside the town, to the south, west, north and northeast, there are the gardens and plowed land of the town dwellers, who move out in the summer to these gardens, so that

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples
Turkestan RL1



districts: 1, Tomsk; 2, Krasnoyarsk-Achinsk; 3, Southern Steppes; 4, Yenisei; 5, Altai; 6, Minusinsk; 7, Northern Steppes. Probably some gold deposits could be found in Bokhara and Turkestan. 135

The silver deposits are found in great number in the Altai and north of Semipalatinsk. The richest deposits of coal, iron, and copper are found in the district between Novo-Nikolaevsk, Tomsk, Barnaul, and Kuznietsk; also in the region of Semipalatinsk. The Kuznietsk basin alone occupies some 15,000 sq. klm.

The best-known oilfields are situated on the western coast of the Caspian. But it is possible that the Transcaspian oilfields, now almost entirely limited to Chikishliar and some other points along the railway, may prove to be no less abundant. In Ferghana the oilfields are being exploited in four regions: 1, Shar-Su; 2, Maili-Su; 3, Chimionand; 4, Sel-Kokko, but so far the export is fairly limited; in 1914 it amounted to some 2,000,000 puds.

But it is cereals that form the most important product of export from Western Siberia, and 90 per cent. of the population is devoted to agriculture. Agriculture is found chiefly between 60° of N. lat. and 50° of S. lat. Beyond these limits the country is only half agricultural; while fishing, shooting, and cattle-breeding is carried on alongside. Out of some 12 million dess. occupied by cornfields in Asiatic Russia in 1911, some 4½ millions were situated in Western Siberia, 2½ millions in the Steppe country, and 3½ millions in Turkestan. The chief centres of the corn export are Novo-Nikolaevsk, Omsk, Kurgan, Pyetukhovo, Barnaul, and Semipalatinsk. In 1906–10 average early export = 93,014·4 thousand puds. 241 [62] [439]

Closely connected with agriculture is sheep-breeding, which is especially carried on in the Kirghis Steppes. While in European Russia at the outbreak of war for a hundred inhabitants there were only 32 sheep, in Russian Central Asia it amounted to some 200. The area of pasture land in Western Siberia amounted to some six million dess.; in the Steppe country some three million, and in Turkestan half 233

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples
Turkestan RL1



a million. Next to sheep in importance is the breeding of horses and cows. In the cattle-breeding area the butter industry is very successfully carried on, especially in the governments of Tomsk and Tobolsk, and the chief centres of its export are Barnaul, Omsk, and Kurgan. In 1913 the exports equalled 4·9 million puds as against 1·7 million puds in 1903. Closely allied to these industries is the export of live stock, bacon, game, wool, hair, skins and furs. But although they occupy a considerable place, it is the corn which comes first in quantity and cotton first in value among all Central Asiatic products. The pre-war export along the railway shows the following proportion between the various goods: Corn, 35·6 per cent. (of all exported goods); cotton, 4·3 per cent.; butter, 1·5 per cent.; fish, 1·2 per cent.; meat, 1·0 per cent.

In the production of corn Western Siberian ranks first; 7 per cent. of the native population scarcely take any part in this industry; while out of 93 per cent. of European population, 87 per cent. is composed of Great Russians, on whom agriculture chiefly depends. The cattle- and especially sheep-breeding depend to a great extent on the Kirghis and other Turkic tribes, forming 50 per cent. of the population in the Akmolinsk and 85 per cent. in the Semipalatinsk territories. But it is the cotton industry which almost entirely rests upon the native (Sarts and other Turkic tribes) labour.

The cotton industry is closely connected with irrigation, and again the irrigation canals form the most valuable possession of the natives. The canals seem to have been much more numerous in ancient times, and the remnants of them are found even in such barren deserts as Kizyl-Kumakh or Gary-ishek-otran. The native law codes (*shariat* as well as *'ādat*) recognize that the water is common property, which cannot be sold or bought, and that the land belongs to him who irrigates it. To look after the equal use of the irrigation canals, called *aryka*, an elder, called *mirab*, is chosen from among one settlement, and over several *mirabs* an *aryk-*

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Turkestan RL2



## THE 'NATIONAL-TERRITORIAL DELIMITATION'

Soviet Central Asia went through many an experiment before taking its present shape. In the early years of Bolshevik rule Soviet Central Asia was still described as 'Turkestan', as it was under the Czarist Government. An Autonomous Turkestani S.S.R. was founded on May 1st, 1918. In addition there existed the 'Soviet People's Republics' (as distinct from 'Soviet Socialist Republics') of Bokhara and Khorezm, previously known as the Emirate of Bokhara and the Khanate of Khiva. These two 'People's Republics' were formally outside the Soviet Union and were linked with the Russian Socialist Soviet Federation by treaties of alliance.

Turkestan, Bokhara and Khorezm had a multi-national character. The population of Turkestan consisted of 41·4 per cent Uzbeks, 10·8 per cent Kirghiz, 10·3 per cent Kazakhs, 7·7 per cent Tadzhiks, 4·7 per cent Turkmenians. Khorezm had 61 per cent Uzbeks and 28·8 per cent Turkmenians. 98·6 per cent of all Kirghiz and 66·5 per cent of all Uzbeks lived in Turkestan, but the Tadzhiks were almost equally divided between Bokhara and Turkestan, while the Turkmenians were split between three territorial units: 43·2 per cent lived in Turkestan, 27 per cent in Bokhara and 29·8 per cent in Khorezm.

The Soviet régime considered that its task in Central Asia consisted in establishing national states for Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Turkmenians and Kirghiz. This was achieved by the formal annexation by Soviet Russia and partition of Bokhara and Khorezm and by the disbandment of the Turkestani A.S.S.R. This whole process was officially described as the 'national-territorial delimitation' of Soviet Central Asia. It was decided upon in principle in September 1924, and carried out by the spring of 1925. As an outcome of the 'delimitation' 94·2 per cent of all Turkmenians were allocated to a Turkmenian Soviet Republic, 82·6 per cent of all Uzbeks of the U.S.S.R. to Uzbekistan, 86·7 per cent of all Kirghiz to Kirghizistan and 75·2 per cent of all Tadzhiks to Tadzhikistan.[1] (These percentages do not, however, take into account those Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kirghiz, etc., who are living outside the Soviet Union.) Not all of the newly formed national territories were immediately given the rank of fully fledged Soviet Republics. Tadzhikistan, for instance, was an Autonomous Republic within Uzbekistan until 1929, when it was raised in status. Kirghizistan, originally an Autonomous Soviet Republic within the R.S.F.S.R., became a Soviet Republic as late as 1936. In the same year, Kazakhstan became the fifth Soviet Republic of Central Asia.

T. 642 631
T 162
S.U. 631 185 563
T. 642 162

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Turkestan RL1



[Uigur]
[Dungan]

land for settlement purposes as well as exemptions from taxes for a period of ten years. The new subjects of the Russian Empire proved to be an asset, both economically and culturally, in South-East Kazakhstan and Kirghizistan. After 1881, in the Semirechie district on the skirts of China, the Uigurs founded sixty settlements. Most of the settlements survived the revolution and Soviet statistics mention the existence of forty-five Uigur villages in the same area. They are forming a 'Uigur National District' which is part of the Alma Ata Province of Kazakhstan. The Uigurs also have over sixty National Collective Farms in Uzbekistan.

Tu. 563

Tu. 162

The total number of Uigurs in the Soviet Union, together with ethnical groups who are practically identical with them, can be placed with some certainty in the neighbourhood of 100,000. In regard to the Dungans, Soviet statistics mention a total figure of 14,600 for the whole Soviet Union, but that figure would seem to be an understatement. The Dungans have been allotted a special 'National District' in Kazakhstan and have fifteen National Collective Farms in Kirghizistan.[59]

Tu. 563 658

Considering their small numerical strength the two national minorities enjoy the use of a comparatively large number of cultural institutions. As many as five newspapers, two theatres (one each in Alma Ata and Andizhan) and two teachers' training colleges are at the disposal of the Uigurs, while the Dungans have two newspapers and a teachers' training college in addition to a Dungan department in the teachers' training college of Frunze. An Uigur-Dungan department has also been attached to the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan.

S.U. 563 721

Such liberality by the Soviet authorities may be explained by the political-military role of considerable importance which, in addition to the economic and cultural one, the Uigurs and Dungans had all along been called to play. Having settled down in the Russo-Chinese frontier area the Uigurs and Dungans took upon themselves the tasks usually reserved for Russian and Ukrainian settlers. In the cultural and economic fields the Uigurs and Dungans exercised a stabilizing and beneficial influence on their nomad surroundings. In the domain of politics, thanks to their anti-Chinese outlook, they provided Russian frontier districts with a human wall as reliable as if composed of Russian colonists themselves.

S.U 563 648

From the point of view of Soviet diplomatic strategy the Uigurs, who are the largest people in multi-national Sinkiang, are by far the more important of the two. The 2,900,000 Uigurs of Sinkiang are, however, split up into a large number of communities so isolated from each other that it has been difficult to deal with them as a real national unit. Soviet nationalities policy, taking the Soviet Uigurs as a basis, may assist them to develop a clearer national consciousness.

During the decade of active Soviet interference (1933–43) in the

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Soviet Central Asia RL1



from the Caspian Sea (at Nebit-Dag), to the Fergana Valley and the lower Surkhan Darya, an affluent of the Amu Darya. Much importance is attached to the salt deposits in the Caspian gulf of Kara-Bogaz-Gol. This inlet, acting as a natural evaporating basin for the water of the Caspian Sea, has large deposits of Glauber salt (mirabilite). Sulphur deposits are found here to a greater extent than in any other part of the USSR, mainly in the center of the desert Kara-Kum, at Gaurdak, near the Amu Darya, and in the Fergana Valley. The ranges which surround this valley abound in nonferrous and rare metals: copper, lead, zinc, gold, silver, tungsten, mercury, and antimony. In the highlands of the Pamir, Iceland spar (a variety of calcite), precious stones, and gold are being mined at the present time. The combination of coal and iron deposits in and near the Fergana Valley have permitted the development of heavy industry.

The population of Soviet Central Asia amounts to 10.4 million people, with an average density of 22 per square mile. While in the desert area the average density falls as low as a few people per 100 square miles, the fertile and well-irrigated oases have a population density of about 1,000–1,500 per square mile, the highest rural population concentration in the USSR. The basic elements of the population belong to the Turkic and Iranian groups. The former, by far the more numerous, includes Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kirghiz, and Kara-Kalpaks, while the latter takes in the Tadzhiks, the remaining members of an ancient nationality of Central Asia, who speak a language akin to Iranian. The Uzbeks number more than one half the total population, besides Tadzhiks, Kirghiz, and Turkmen. Russians (above 6 percent), Bukhara Jews, Chinese Dungans, and others make up the remainder of this colorful ethnic mélange.

Until 1924 Soviet Central Asia was divided politically into the Turkestan Autonomous SSR (formed in 1922) and the Bukhara and the Khorezm Soviet People's republics (formed in 1920). Late in 1924 a reorganization of these territories and a redemarcation of boundaries along essentially ethnic lines led to the establishment of the Turkmen SSR, the Uzbek SSR (including the Tadzhik Autonomous SSR), and the Kara-Kirghiz (later Kirghiz) Autonomous SSR, which became part of the Russian SFSR. In 1929 and 1936, respectively, the Tadzhik and Kirghiz Autonomous SSR became full union republics.

Agricultural activities play the leading role in the economy of Central Asia. Depending upon the land form and the development of irrigation, the following branches of agriculture can be distinguished: (1) ir-